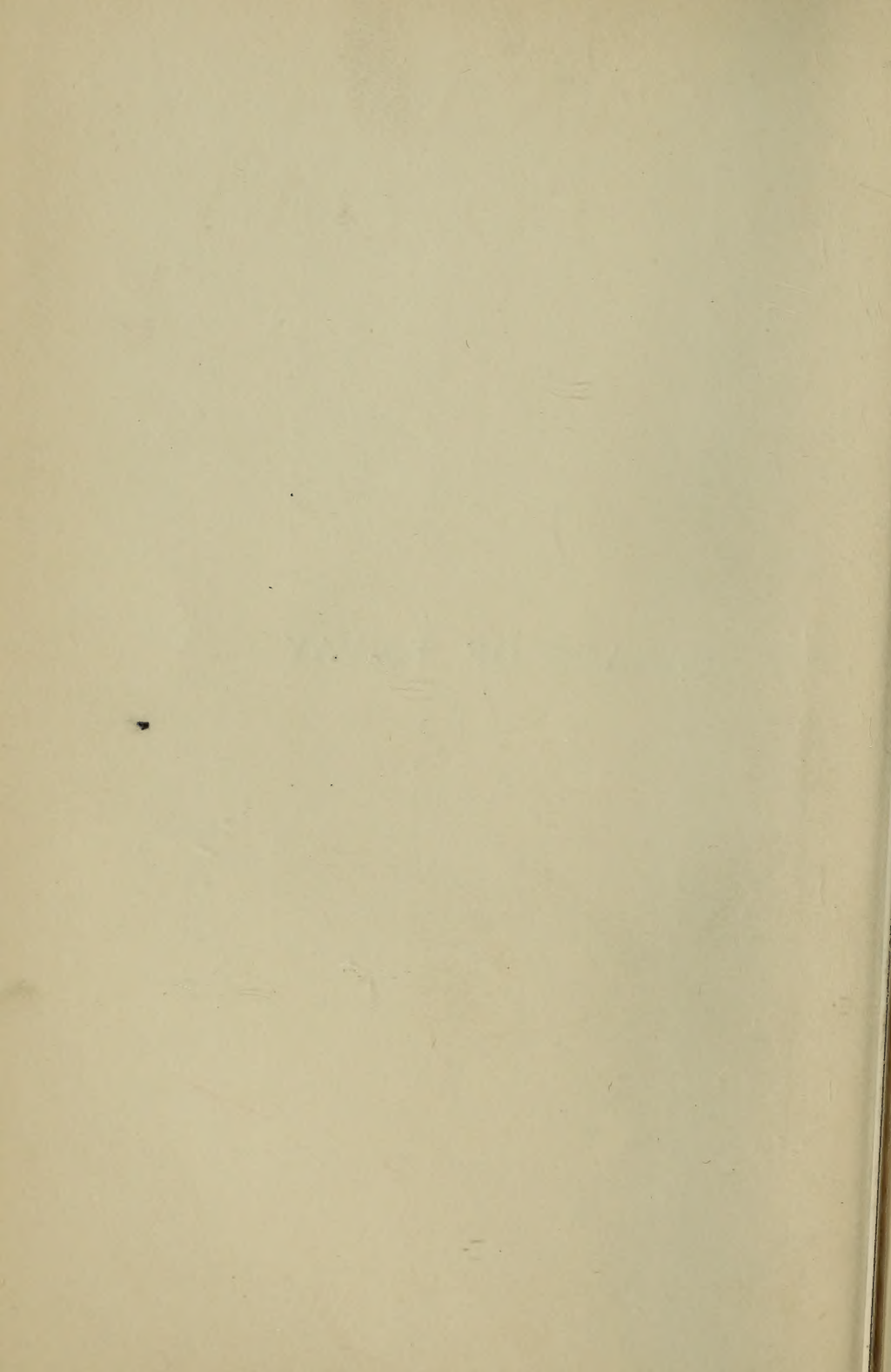


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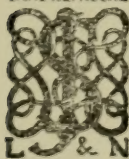
CANADA OF TO-DAY



CANADA OF TO-DAY

BY
WILLIAM MAXWELL

SANS PEUR ET
SANS REPROCHE



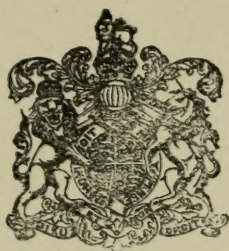
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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. "GO AND SEE CANADA" -	9
II. DOES CANADA WANT FREE TRADE? -	16
III. THE FOOD TAX - -	23
IV. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES	30
V. THE AMERICAN INVASION - -	39
VI. THE EFFECT OF RECIPROCITY -	49
VII. THE WAY TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION -	55
VIII. THE PARNELL OF QUEBEC -	61
IX. THE CHURCH AND NATIONALISM -	69
X. NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE -	77
XI. NATIONALISM AND THE NAVY -	85
XII. THE CALL OF THE WEST - -	94
XIII. FRUIT FARMING - -	102
XIV. AN IDEAL AND ITS PRICE - -	109
XV. A REAL AMERICAN INVASION -	116



By Appointment



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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS book is the result of a journey of inquiry. It is a serious attempt to state frankly the conditions, tendencies and opinions of Canada as I found them. As far as I am aware, it is without bias of politics or religion or society or officialism.

I have been to Canada five times in the last ten years, and claim some personal knowledge of its conditions. Four times I have made long and careful investigations from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Last autumn I entered Canada from the Pacific, after a journey across the United States. My purpose in choosing this point of departure was to have another perspective unaffected by the progressive influence of the more advanced and settled provinces near the Atlantic.

At that season Canada does not look at its best. But my business was not with its natural attractions. My interest was solely

in its problems and prospects, and it was my good fortune to be in the Dominion when public opinion was active on the Reciprocity Agreement with the United States.

If any Roman Catholic imagines that, in discussing the problems of religion and language in the provinces of Quebec, I am moved by sectarian bias, I invite him to read the warning of Archbishop Bourne, of the Pro-Cathedral, Westminster, at the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal.

These chapters have been added to, and, in some cases, modified since they appeared in the *Daily Mail*, the proprietors of which I thank for permission to reprint those portions which appeared in that journal.

CANADA OF TO-DAY.

CHAPTER I.

“GO AND SEE CANADA.”

EVERYBODY knows that Canada is a great and an expanding market ; that Great Britain and the United States are rivals in this market ; that the United States has special advantages in position and natural resources ; and that these advantages are about to be increased by the Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States. Everybody knows also that a new situation has been created for German trade in Canada by the removal of the special tariff, and that increased competition between British and German imports is inevitable.

How are we to meet these great rivals?
How are we not merely to maintain but to
improve our commercial position in Canada?
These are questions that should be asked in

every factory and every counting-house, for it is there and not in the House of Commons that the answer must be given. These are not political or fiscal problems, as people in this country often pretend. They are problems for merchants and manufacturers, not for politicians. When we begin to realise this, we shall perhaps cease to wait on the providence of Parliaments, and instead of talking about the bonds of patriotism and of blood, we will take off our coats and enter into the struggle like men of practical common sense.

Now is the time for action. In a few years it will be too late. At this moment we have one solid advantage over our rivals, We have preferential treatment in Canadian markets—a handicap of one-third of the Customs duties in our favour. Do not let us deceive ourselves. This preference cannot endure for all time. However willing Canadians may be to give this advantage to the Mother-land, it cannot remain unimpaired. The first breach has been made in this preference wall by the Reciprocity Agreement with the United States. The action of natural forces must widen that breach, and the flood cannot be arrested by a few sentimental pebbles.

We must take advantage of the tide while it runs in our favour. Those merchants and manufacturers who want sound sailing directions, cannot do better than study the two reports of the Board of Trade Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada. Mr. Grigg is a bold and a safe pilot, who sees the rocks and the shallows where they are, knows the currents and the backwaters, and is deceived by no false lights. One of these lights has been flashed in our eyes until it has nearly blinded many of us. When we compare United States exports to Canada with British exports we may imagine that the battle has been fought and won by the United States. Nothing of the kind. It is just beginning. True, our average exports for consumption in Canada have been only 25·79 per cent. in the years 1908-10, whereas the exports from the United States to Canada have been 58·68 per cent. But Mr. Grigg is neither deceived nor dismayed by aggregates. He recognises that this preponderance of United States in the Canadian markets is due to geographical position, to wide range of natural products, to similarity of needs, and to the ease of communications and transport between the two countries. Yet, despite these enormous natural advantages, British trade with Canada

has not merely held its own : it has increased and is increasing. This is a proof of vitality and ought to be a stimulus to effort.

What must be the direction of the effort ? Mr. Grigg tells us. For it is a crowning virtue of these reports that they neither dream nor lead like a will-o'-the-wisp into a hopeless bog of generalities. They are sane and concrete and appeal to practical men, whether merchants or manufacturers or merely spectators in the great game of international commerce. Mr. Grigg defines the true limits of our effective competition, and shows us where we may improve our position. There are none of the stock complaints of British indifference and incapacity with which some of our Consuls eke out their inane reports and borrowed statistics. Mr. Grigg knows better the merchants who have won for us half the foreign trade of the world. He gives advice, not censure.

And the best advice is this : Go and see Canada. Our merchants and manufacturers must not be content with agents and deputies. Let them see with their own eyes and judge by their own experience. Canada will be a revelation to them and an education. It will show them our weakness and our strength, and

will create for them a new and invigorating atmosphere.

Members of Parliament have begun to go to Canada. Many of them come back with opinions modified or radically changed by contact with new conceptions and impulses of Empire. The attitude of Canadians toward fiscal, military and naval problems, in which every part of the British Empire is concerned they discover to be not as it is often represented by party politicians. Many delusions are shattered. The truth is not always agreeable, but it is well that we should know it and should make up our minds to face it.

Walter Bagehot was right when he said: "In the American mind and in the Colonial mind there is, as contrasted with the old English mind, a certain literalness, a tendency to say: 'The facts are so and so, whatever may be thought or fancied about them.'" We should be wise to keep this always before us when we approach the obstacles to Imperial Federation.

One of these obstacles is Home Rule. The facts as they appear to Canadians and to Americans are these: Ireland has never ceased to demand Home Rule, and Great Britain denies to Ireland what Canada and the

United States have given to their separate provinces.

"I would give Ireland the same self-government that Canada gives to each of her provinces. That and nothing more." These are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words to me, and they are the last words of the Canadian Premier to the Irish leader, Mr. John Redmond. I confess that the conditions and prospects in Quebec, which is French and Roman Catholic, and from which have been steadily driven the British and Protestant elements, make me pause. But this, at any rate, is the common opinion in Canada, irrespective of party politics, that until we have provincial governments for purely provincial affairs in the United Kingdom, such as every other part of the British Dominions already possesses, we cannot hope to establish an Imperial Federal Parliament able to deal with the great problems of the Empire.

Canada, too, has a nationalist problem to solve. French-Canada has been hitherto the dominant and indulged partner, and has divided the nation on racial and religious lines. That domination is drawing to a close. New factors are crowding into the Western provinces, and have already begun to disturb the balance of

power between the East and the West. French-Canadians foresee this encroachment on their influence, and are preparing to meet it by lighting again the slumbering fires of race and language and religion.

This nationalist movement in Canada will have an important bearing on Imperial Federation. It is more dangerous to Imperialism than any of the economic or American invasion problems that have arisen in the West of Canada.

Canada will find the right solution. But there is need for patience. The British Empire, as I was often told in the Dominion, is too young and too vigorous to die of exposure in a night. There is need for forbearance. Canada has doubts and prejudices and interests that demand cautious treatment. There is need also for education. For in Canada, as in the United Kingdom, there are people who still have to be taught that Imperial Federation is not a midsummer dream, but a reality toward which events are tending.

CHAPTER II.

DOES CANADA WANT FREE TRADE?

Does Canada want Free Trade?

I put the question everywhere from British Columbia to the Maritime Provinces. I put it to all classes of people, to members of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, to merchants and manufacturers, to farmers and artisans. And the answer in every case forced me to the conclusion that Free Trade has one meaning in Canada and another meaning in Great Britain. Words, after all, are living things until they are embalmed in the dead languages. Transplanted they take to themselves the qualities of the people who use them. A "Free Trader" at one time in England meant a "smuggler." In Canada "Free Trade" means not the abolition but the reduction of tariffs.

Ask the farmer in the West and the Middle-west what he means by Free Trade, and he

talks about cheaper agricultural machinery from the United States and reduction of tariff on certain manufactures. Ask a member of the Grain Growers' Association, the only organised body of "Free Traders" in Canada, and he becomes eloquent on the subject of his own special needs and interests and on the wisdom of increasing the preference given to imports from Great Britain. Ask the Minister for Agriculture in Edmonton, and he insists on the removal of the embargo on live cattle from Canada. Most other things, he says, can wait.

Ask Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister and an avowed Free Trader, and he confesses that Free Trade within the Empire is his hope and ideal. But the ideal must wait because Canadian industries need protection. "Fifty years hence," says Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "we may think of applying the principle of Free Trade to Canada. Meanwhile we are Free Traders in theory, and believe in the movement of the different parts of the Empire towards Free Trade rather than in the movement of Great Britain toward Protection."

Ask Mr. Borden, Leader of the Conservative Opposition, and he will confirm the opinion of the Prime Minister. He will tell you that the present Liberal Government of Canada came

into power in 1896 pledged to destroy the principle of Protection in the tariff. "In face of this promise, the Government has constantly maintained the principle of Protection—because public opinion compelled and still compels that course."

All this talk in Great Britain about the demand for Free Trade in Canada is based on a misconception of the meaning of the phrase in Canada. It raises false hopes among Free Traders in Great Britain and confuses the issue of Imperialism in Canada.

There is another misconception which also stands in the way. Advocates of Imperial Federation on a protective basis assume that the real difficulty is created by the different tariff policies which are tolerated under the flag. They must be reminded that there are Imperialists who hold that freedom in tariffs is no more opposed in principle to Imperial unity than is liberty of self-government in other respects. The octroi duties of Paris and other large cities do not affect the unity of France. This is the attitude of many people in Canada. They see no reason why Imperial Federation should wait on Free Trade in Canada or on Protection in Great Britain or even on Imperial Preference.

Does Canada want preference? She has given it to Great Britain. In 1897, with the approval of Conservatives and Liberals, Sir Wilfrid Laurier established preferential treatment of British imports into Canada. This was an answer to tariff coercion by the United States. The preference began at 12½ per cent., rose to 25 per cent., and advanced to 33 1-3 per cent. In other words, where a British merchant pays a duty of £1 on goods which he sends to Canada the merchant of any other nationality pays £3. Under this system the balance of trade between Canada and Great Britain has been to some extent readjusted. Formerly a much larger part of our payment to Canada for foodstuffs was in gold, which was spent by Canada in buying manufactured goods from the United States. The one-third preference enables our manufacturers to compete on more favourable terms. The exchange of commerce between the two countries has increased and a new and strong link has been made between the two most important parts of the Empire. And, as was foreseen in the United States, a check was given to the movement in favour of continental, as opposed to imperial, preference.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared that this

preference was a free gift from Canada to the Mother-country. It is a splendid gift, to be appraised not merely in gold or merchandise but in sentiment. The manufacturers of Canada, the only people who could possibly object on the ground that it helped their competitors, accepted the system loyally. But at present they are not prepared to go further. A movement has begun in the West to increase the preference to 50 per cent., with a view to further increases. This policy is advocated by the Grain Growers' Association, and is one of the methods of lowering tariffs on imported manufactures.

Canada, then, has given to Great Britain preferential treatment as some compensation for the privilege possessed by her in common with every country—the right of free entry into the British Isles.

Do Canadians ask a preference from Great Britain? We are sometimes told that Imperial Federation is doomed unless we immediately form an Imperial Customs Union and treat the various parts of the Empire on terms more favourable than those given to foreign countries. There is no evidence to justify the statement that Canada asks for preferential treatment. Even the western farmer, who, presumably,

would benefit by this preference over foreign competitors, has publicly repudiated it as a national policy. In a recent memorial to the Dominion Government the farmers say that they desire neither reciprocity nor preference. "The open door for Canadian farm products to the British market" is the only return they ask for the Canadian preference on British imports.

In the East, as in the West, you will find people ready to discuss the advantages of preference under a protective system. They urge that it would help the development of the Western Provinces, would be of advantage to agricultural interest in the Eastern Provinces, would strengthen the allegiance of every class to the Empire, and would create a bond between Great Britain and those settlers in Canada who neither bring with them nor inherit any sentiment of Imperialism.

But these people speak of Imperial preference in Great Britain as they speak of Free Trade in Canada. It is a purely academic question. Canadians will not interfere, directly or indirectly, in our fiscal controversy. To suggest that the farmer is anxious "to profit by taxing the bread of the British workman" is to do him a stupid

injustice. As a Protectionist he believes that tariffs and prices adjust themselves and that in the end the British workman would benefit : as a Free Trader, in the limited Canadian sense, he would preserve the open door in Great Britain : as a business man he finds no need to demand special indulgences for an industry with an assured and ever-increasing market.

As far as Canada is concerned, Great Britain will be left to work out her own fiscal problems unfettered by insistence on the preferential treatment of any particular class or industry. Farmers in Canada ask for no preference. That they would accept it as a voluntary gift in any scheme of Protection adopted by Great Britain cannot, however, be doubted. To reject it would be to deprive themselves of an obvious advantage over foreign competitors in the British market and to rouse the indignation of those of their countrymen who look upon Preference as one of the chief corner stones, if not, indeed, the foundation stone of a Federated British Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOOD TAX.

WHEN Mr. Chamberlain accepted the economic doctrine long preached in the wilderness by Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, Sir Henry Howard Vincent, and Mr. Henry Chaplin, he was convinced that without Imperial Preference based on a Tariff Union, Imperial Unity was impossible. Mr. Chamberlain has repeated this article of his faith in a letter, dated February 8th, 1911, to the Tariff Commission: "I am more than ever convinced that without Preference we cannot hope to maintain and develop the unity of the Empire."

To have Imperial Preference we must, in Mr. Chamberlain's opinion, have a food tax. This is a logical position. There is only one class of Canadian exports on which a preference by Great Britain could benefit the Dominion. It is no use offering preferential treatment on articles of manufacture which Canadians do not

export. Canada sends to us wheat, cattle and food stuffs. Russia, the Argentine, India, and the United States compete with Canada in the food markets of the British Isles. To give a preference to Canadian wheat we must put a tax on Russian and Argentine and other foreign wheat.

Mr. Chamberlain sees this, and has the courage to insist that a food tax in Great Britain is an indispensable condition of Imperial Federation.

The difficulties in his way are these :—Great Britain, as three General Elections have shown, will have nothing to do with food taxes, whatever disposition she may show to coquet with a tax on manufactured imports ; the Canadian farmer, for whose benefit the food tax is proposed, will have none of it ; and the Canadian Government, while professing unbroken faith in Imperial Preference, has made a bargain with the United States that destroys the very basis of a food tax and makes it impossible for Great Britain to give preferential treatment to Canadian wheat except under conditions wholly impracticable and illusory.

Mr. Chamberlain, like many others in the British Isles, believed that the Canadian people

and Government were moving not merely to the same goal but also along the same road as himself. There was some warrant for this belief in the speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Imperial Conferences in London. But the acts of statesmen are not always to be foretold from their words. In judging Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the members of his Cabinet, we must remember that though Protectionists in practice, they are Free Traders in principle. The conditions in Canada make them Protectionists in spite of their convictions and professions. They do not believe that a common system of tariff regulations is really essential to Imperial unity. They do believe that freedom in respect of tariffs is no more opposed to the conception of Imperial unity than is liberty of self-government in other respects. Their natural bias is not toward Protection but toward Free Trade, and they have given proof of this bias by constant efforts to renew the reciprocity which the United States denounced in 1886.

What is the attitude of the Canadian farmer toward a food tax in Great Britain? There are people who impute to him only the purest impulses of altruism and make him argue after the manner of the United States House of

Representatives' Committee on Reciprocity with Canada :

“The most odious of all taxes ever devised by Government is a tax on bread. That food has a place near the elemental substances like air and water which are necessary to the preservation of our lives. Such a tax is not felt by the rich and well to do, but it bears with especial weight upon the poor. For the Government to intervene artificially to increase the price of bread would be to add to the load borne by those already overburdened, who can only with difficulty procure the means of subsistence, and it would tend to increase suffering and shorten life. The American farmer will not desire to augment his prosperity in any such a way. Certainly he is not likely to borrow trouble over a condition that may not appear for a decade.”

The Canadian farmer is quite as capable as the United States farmer of entertaining these lofty sentiments and of refusing to “augment his prosperity by increasing the suffering and shortening the lives” of his kinsmen. But, happily, he is also under no urgent temptation to advocate a food tax in Great Britain in order to extend his market. There is already at his very door a market of nearly 100,000,000

people to which the Canadian farmer is invited on equal terms with the native producer. Why should he refuse this offer?

How can we insist on the Canadian farmer sending his wheat over thousands of miles of land and sea in order to sell it in the British market when he can obtain a higher price in the United States market, which is close at hand? The duty on wheat imported into the United States has hitherto been one shilling a bushel. With the removal of this duty vanishes the artificial barrier between the prairies of Canada and the crowded cities of the United States. For the United States to secure the benefit of these unlimited resources of food and raw material it was not necessary to consult Canada or to make any concessions. The tariff wall along the northern border of the United States had only to be lowered or removed, and Canadian wheat and other products could not have resisted the natural attraction of the great markets. How can an imaginary line from the Pacific to the Atlantic prevent the Canadian farmer from doing what any ordinary business man would do—take the highest profit in the nearest market?

It is useless to argue that geographical

boundaries are also political and commercial boundaries. This may be true in Europe and Asia, where races and languages create impassable barriers ; but in North America there is one dominant race—the Anglo-Saxon—with the same blood, the same language, traditions, habits, and practically the same form of government. The wall that divides Canada and the United States commercially was replaced by the United States in 1886, and was built higher than the tariff wall which was removed in 1854. The Government and people of the United States have now come to the conclusion that “the attempt to set aside the plain decrees of Nature by artificial tariff barriers has injured both countries.”

We do not, however, accept the view of the United States House of Representatives that the development of Canada was retarded by the denunciation of the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. On the contrary, Canada took off her coat, ceased to look over the southern fence, borrowed money from Great Britain, and set to work to construct that mighty steel framework of railways upon which her prosperity has been built. Progress may have been slow for a country with vast wealth of forests and mines and hundred of thousands of

miles of rich lands. Trade may have flowed feebly through the long channel from east to west. Half a century may seem an incredible time for the population to increase from 3,500,000 to 8,000,000. But the foundations have been securely laid and the political independence of the Dominion has been assured.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

THE annexation of Canada by the United States is no longer either a bogey or an aspiration.

In Professor Goldwin Smith, who left the bulk of his fortune to Cornell University, died the last great advocate of annexation. Despite the vapourings of some American politicians who seek to arouse the suspicion of Canada and the indignation of Great Britain, the Republic is not eager to extend its blessings to the "Bluenoses," as it disrespectfully calls the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. A new policy has crossed the frontier. Peaceful penetration manifests itself in several forms. American capital is active among the industries and natural resources of Canada. American farmers are leaving the middle-west in order to "mine" the virgin soil of the Canadian north-west—"mine" is the word used to describe

that method of agriculture which accepts everything the earth yields, and gives nothing in return. American statesmen also have taken a hand in the game. They have invited Canada to join them in a scheme for reciprocity. At the suggestion of President Taft visits to Washington and Ottawa were made last year, and negotiations were resumed in January, 1911, with the result that a reciprocity agreement is about to be concluded.

The United States have never attempted to influence the fiscal policy of Canada without benefit to the Dominion. The blessing, it is true, has been disguised, but in the end it has proved a blessing. When the Republic repealed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 the deliberate purpose was to create artificial barriers to trade that would force Canada into the Union. It was believed that the prosperity of Canada was absolutely dependent on her powerful neighbour. But the immediate effect of these restrictions was to force Canada to combine in self-defence. As the United States built railways to hold California in the Union, so Canada built a railway to British Columbia and a railway to Nova Scotia. Immense sums of money were spent on waterways and steamships, and a new and natural

direction was given to Canadian development. Instead of moving north and south, trade followed the historic line of east and west, and a new link was made between the Dominion and the Mother-country. There were pessimists in those days who bewailed the fate of Canada and urged her to submit to the Republic, but thanks to the energy and self-reliance of the people, and to the cheap capital which Great Britain put at their command, the country held on her way and prospered to an astonishing degree.

The withdrawal of the prop of reciprocity with the United States was the first real test of the strength of the British provinces of Canada. The McKinley tariff was the next test. Once more the United States assumed that their patronage was indispensable to the existence of Canada. And the effect was the same as in 1854. Canadians were not frightened into submission. They redoubled their efforts, and turning again to the Motherland, gave her that preferential treatment which in the opinion of many was to be the foundation-stone of a federated Empire.

I have sketched briefly the history of the trade relations between Canada and the United States because it has an important bearing on

the new Reciprocity agreement. Sir John Macdonald said in 1890 that it would be time enough to talk again of reciprocity when it was offered by the United States. There were to be, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, no more pilgrimages to Washington. The time has come for the United States to make the overtures, but the conditions are changed. Canada is not a suppliant for favours, and any suggestion, such as was made by Mr. Blaine, that she should surrender her independence as a condition of a commercial arrangement would be resented as an insult. Canada is no longer, as in 1854, a divided community of five million comparatively poor farmers tempted by the offer of free access to the markets of sixty million prosperous neighbours.

Confident in their strength and unshaken in their loyalty, Canadians feel that they can discuss reciprocity on its merits—that is, on purely commercial lines. Cries of disloyalty, of annexation, and of danger to the imperial connection they regard as uncomplimentary, as implying that Canadians cannot be trusted to trade with their neighbours.

“Our natural life,” said a Canadian Minister,” must have feeble vitality if it needs a Chinese wall to keep it from leaking out.”

When the Canadian delegates went to Washington they did not anticipate any important results from the negotiations. To their surprise they found the United States delegates not only eager to make concessions, but also determined that no obstacle should stand in the way of an agreement. The Republican defeat in the elections of November, 1910, and the sudden departure of the United States delegates from Ottawa, created a general belief that the negotiations had failed. On the contrary, the defeat of his party, at the polls, strengthened President Taft in his resolution to establish reciprocity with Canada, and thus prove to the citizens of the United States that Republican promises of fiscal reform were something more than "hot air."

Briefly the Reciprocity agreement will establish Free Trade in wheat, fish, timber and some other natural products and will reduce the customs duties on certain manufactured goods.

The Committee on Ways and Means, reporting to the House of Representatives in Washington, declares that the agreement "takes a long step toward establishing for the Continent of North America a policy of unrestricted trade and commerce, recognising natural conditions that have been too long ignored. It is based upon

just principles, and designed fairly to secure the mutual advantage of the two nations. The President wisely said in his message that in an arrangement like the pending one, an exact balance of financial gain is neither imperative nor attainable. The duties proposed to be remitted by the United States yield about twice as great a revenue as those remitted by Canada. But Canada's concessions bear a much larger proportion to her total income than do our concessions to our total income. And it must be borne in mind that we are likely to gain as greatly by what we give as by what we get."

What is the explanation of this sudden benevolence—this eagerness on the part of the United States to make sacrifices for the sake of Canada? It will be found in the changing position of United States trade, in the fact that the surplus of wheat and food stuffs is steadily diminishing, in the need for raw material of manufacture, and in the increased cost of living.

Notwithstanding the revival of trade in 1909-10, the balance of trade in the United States fell lower than in any period since 1895-8. This decline is accounted for by the diminished shipments of wheat which has been

going on for some years. Though the wheat harvest in 1909 was 737,000,000 bushels, a figure exceeded only once in United States history, the exports were only 88,100,000 bushels of wheat and flour, valued at £19,000,000. A marked decrease is also noted in shipments of cattle, hogs' meat, and dairy produce. These facts show conclusively that the surplus of food production in the United States is being rapidly absorbed by the growing population, and that the time is approaching, when the United States will cease to be an exporter of wheat, and will become an importer. The price of wheat in 1909 was 99 cents a bushel, or an increase of over 20 per cent. in the years of 1905-9, compared with a 17 per cent. increase in the Liverpool market—a difference of 3 per cent., which cannot be reconciled with the argument that the price of wheat must find a common level in Europe and America, and thus deprive the Canadian farmer of any advantage under the Reciprocity agreement with the United States.

With regard to shipments of cattle, Mr. J. Ogden Armour says:—"The meat export business from the United States to Europe is dead. South America is furnishing the meat that Europe consumes, and this country cannot

compete with advantage with South America. Cattle conditions there are as they were in the West twenty-five years ago."

With the expansion of the home market for food stuffs, may also be observed an extension of the area of manufactures. In several of the States of the middle-west, which are commonly described as agricultural, the capital invested and the number of men employed in manufactures are as great as in the Eastern States, where manufacture has always been the chief occupation. Mr. Henry M. Whitney states that in Illinois, for example, the capital invested in manufacturing plant is nearly equal to that in the State of Massachusetts. The competition between the factories of the East and West has directed the attention of the East to the markets of Canada, for, after all, Montreal is only 350 miles from New York, whereas Chicago is 1,000 miles away.

The people of the United States claim to be the greatest Free Traders in the world. When we remember that among one hundred million people there are not merely no tariff barriers but also practical uniformity of wages and conditions, we must acknowledge that there is justification for the claim. But the United

States are beginning to discover that they cannot live and prosper on themselves alone. Having ceased to be dispensers of the necessities of life to Europe, the United States are looking for other kinds of trade. If increasing exports of manufactures are to take the place of declining shipments of grain, it is obvious that new resources should be secured in order to increase the supply of raw material and to reduce the cost of living.

In Canada are both these resources. There are the wheat fields, the forests, and the mines, with their vast and undeveloped potentialities. And there is, moreover, an almost identical standard of wages and conditions that secures the protection of the United States markets against unequal competition.

CHAPTER V.

THE AMERICAN INVASION.

“UNCLE SAM cannot steal over here in the dark and absorb us without our being aware of the fact.”

We were talking of the “American invasion” and of its probable influence on the destiny of the Dominion. In the last ten years nearly half a million people have left the United States to settle in Canada. They come at the solicitation of the Dominion Government, and not one Canadian in a thousand has any fear of their rivalry in commerce or agriculture or politics. Winnipeg, with easy confidence born of success, speaks of the American invader as Aberdeen speaks of the Jew who went to live in the Granite City. “He comes to Winnipeg, but he does not stay in Winnipeg.”

But there are places where he does stay, for the American invasion is no new thing, though

its phenomenal growth is beginning to attract attention. In 1900-1, 17,987 Americans crossed the border into Canada. In 1908-9 the figures rose to 59,832. In the twelve months ended March last they rose to 103,798. In the last ten years the total immigration from the United States into Canada has been 497,248, while that from the British Isles has been 562,054, or a balance of 64,806 in favour of British immigrants. But the significant fact is this. In 1910 the United States immigration was nearly double that of the previous year and 44,008 in excess of the British immigration. And there is every probability that this relative excess of American settlers over British will continue owing to the conditions imposed by the Dominion Government and to the special requirements of Canada.

Nor is the American invasion one of people only. It is an invasion of capital also. Settlers from the United States brought to Canada in 1910 cash and effects valued at £20,000,000. The Commissioner of Emigration tells me that the average capital of the American immigrant is £220, whereas the average capital of the British immigrant is only £3. Nor is this all. American capital controls vast areas of timber land in Western Canada. Nearly two-thirds of

the valuable timber of British Columbia is said to be owned by United States companies. American land companies have entered into competition with the Dominion Government and with the Canadian and Pacific Railway, and are settling vast regions north of the United States border. American capital is invested in Canadian mines and industries and is advanced on mortgage over many farms in the north-west and the middle-west.

This great and growing expansion of United States activity in Canada is due to causes that are partly artificial and partly natural. Hitherto British capital has been almost exclusively interested in Canadian railways and public works, and the industrial field has been left open to the United States. Recently there has been a tendency of British capital toward the land and the natural resources if not toward industrial enterprises.

The building of new railways has opened up new regions in the North-west of Canada and has given new impetus to emigration from the United States and from Europe. The advantages of these new territories have been impressed upon farmers in the United States by energetic missionaries of emigration, whose organisation extends from Massachusetts to

Oregon. For several years these agents of the Canadian Government have been doing "spade-work" in the States of the west and middle-west. They have lately redoubled their efforts, and regarding themselves as commercial travellers with a good article to sell they have pushed their wares upon a rising market. Conditions have been in their favour. In the United States there is a movement "back to the land," and the west has felt that movement. There are always men ready to sell a small farm for a big price in order to buy a big farm for a small price. These men sell in Dakota or Montana, and buy in Alberta or Saskatchewan for the same reason that Canadians are selling their farms in Ontario and moving westward to the prairies. Then there are sons of American farmers whose opportunities are restricted by the closer settlement of the Western States. They also cross the frontier into the new land of promise. Again, in the United States, as in the Transvaal, are men who feel that they are overcrowded when they can see the smoke of a neighbour's fire from their own doorstep. They, too, inspan and trek to the new Canadian settlements.

These immigrants from the United States

have decided advantages over immigrants from Europe. They have both experience and capital. They have served their apprenticeship in pioneer work ; they are familiar with the conditions of life on the prairies, with the methods and machinery of cultivation which are common to the United States and Canada, and if they change their sky they do not change their continent. You will be told that many of these "American invaders" are repatriated Canadians, but the vast majority of them are of Scandinavian, German, and Polish origin. Some, it is true, are British, and some are certainly "old-time Americans." Nearly one-half of them become "homesteaders." In other words, they occupy lands under grant from the Dominion Government and use their capital to develop their estates. The rest buy their holdings from railway and land companies or settle in the towns to engage in commerce or industry, to advance money on mortgages, to buy and sell land, and, according to Canadians, to "go out of business as bankers" when they have learned by experience that the Canadian banking system has superior merits of its own.

That the American invaders make good citizens is generally acknowledged. I have

heard adverse criticisms, but they are directed mainly against the farming methods of the settlers. Having exhausted the fertility of the soil over the border, they are suspected of coming to "mine" the new lands of Canada. But these criticisms need not be taken very seriously. They are made by men in the Eastern Provinces, who imagine that in a quarter of a century the middle-west of the United States will be exhausted and deserted owing to the methods of agriculture. Moreover, "mining" or taking out of the soil all it can give, and putting back nothing in return, is not unknown in Canada.

The fact is therefore established that the invasion of people and of capital from the United States has increased, and is increasing, that it is encouraged by the Dominion Government by every means at its command, and that it is welcomed by Canadians.

What will be the effect of this new and alien blood which is flowing so freely from the United States into the vigorous veins and arteries of Canada? What will be its influence in the Dominion and in the Empire? This is a serious problem upon which only speculation is possible. With that buoyant and dynamic optimism characteristic of Canadians and

worthy of imitation in the Motherland, Canada is satisfied that the "invaders" will be quickly absorbed, and in a few years will be undistinguishable from native-born citizens. They refuse steadfastly to believe that any "alien invasion" can change the destiny of Canada. There are some, it is true, who argue that as Canadian institutions are moulded under the same broad influences as those of the United States, this inrush of American people and capital must inevitably tend to unite the whole continent in one Federal Republic. But this is not the popular view of the destiny of the Dominion. Among all classes there is a strong prejudice against such a union, and that prejudice is founded not on sentiment alone, but on interest,

The danger, if there is indeed a danger, is not imminent. It is prospective. Three years after his arrival the "homesteader" must become a naturalised Canadian citizen or forfeit his grant of Government land. Canadians say that before that time he will have become a true Canadian, more than reconciled to the winter climate and proud of the laws and institutions that give order and absolute security. To hear some Canadians talk one would imagine that the west of the United States is

still the "wild and woolly west" of pioneer fiction. Time will reveal whether these advantages have weaned the American settler and made him less prone than he is at present to wear the Stars and Stripes in his buttonhole. I am not a prophet, but I am inclined to believe that the Canadians are true prophets.

But in this problem we have to consider not so much the circumstances of the moment as possible contingencies in the future. What would be the attitude of these American settlers in the event of a dispute either between the United States and Great Britain, or between the United States and Canada, or on issues involving commercial interests among these countries? Happily, the relations between the Republic and the Empire are most friendly, and there is solid ground for hope and belief that no cloud will arise to obscure this fair horizon.

Upon purely Canadian questions the American immigrant when he begins to exercise his rights as a citizen of the Dominion, may, and probably will, realise the high expectations of the native-born Canadian. But on those larger issues in which not Canadians alone but citizens of the British Empire are concerned—the issues of Imperial Federation and Imperial

Commerce—have we the same assurance? Now and for some years to come the agencies of education, of government, of law, and of local administration must remain in the hands of the Canadians whose patriotic and imperial sentiments are unquestionable. Will they be unaffected by the new blood when it begins to circulate freely? Will the American invader be a hindrance, even if he cannot be a help, to our imperial aspirations?

That the American settler will make a good Canadian is the common judgment of Canadians. But the same judgment admits without reserve that "he will not necessarily make a good Britisher," since he may bring with him none of the blood and traditions of the British Empire.

"At the same time," say Canadians, "there are ways of weaning the American invader from the memories and prejudices of his early Republican connection."

The emigrant from the Republic comes to Canada under the impression that the Dominion is a British Colony administered from Downing Street, paying tribute to Great Britain, and ruled directly by the King. He soon learns that the Dominion Government is not the mere shadow of authority, that there

is no tribute to pay—except the tribute of sentiment and allegiance—and that the Government of the province in which he lives has as much liberty and power as the State Government of which he has ceased to be a citizen. This knowledge quickly reconciles him to institutions based on Constitutional Monarchy instead of on a Republic.

“And,” said a shrewd Canadian to me, “there is no man on earth who loves a big thing more than your Republican from the United States. Let us show him that the British Empire is a big thing and a real thing, and we have him, body and soul.”

There is more than the wisdom of the serpent in this. The American settler has come to the British Empire to stay. He has come and is coming in increasing numbers. This year he will again outnumber greatly the immigrants from Great Britain. He has become a problem of Imperial Federation and Imperial Trade. We must make haste to convince him that both are realities and not midsummer dreams, facts and not political formulas. The future lies within ourselves, not with the “American invaders.”

CHAPTER VI.

THE EFFECT OF RECIPROCITY.

WHAT will be the effect of the Reciprocity agreement upon Canada and upon Imperial Federation?

That Reciprocity will greatly increase the trade between the Dominion and the United States is certain. Despite the fact that Canadian commerce has been directed in a channel from West to East, the United States already secures a great part of that commerce. When population is taken into account, no country approaches Canada in the amount of purchases from the United States. If we exclude cotton, which is practically a United States monopoly, Great Britain is the only country that buys more than Canada in the United States markets. As the House of Representatives Committee points out in the report on Reciprocity, Canada buys 50 per cent. more from the United States than from all the other nations combined

If Canadian trade with the United States is so important when her population is only 8,000,000, and when tariff restrictions exist, what will it be when these barriers are removed and when the people number 20,000,000?

Every bargain has at least two sides. Canada will, no doubt, derive immediate benefits from increased emigration from the United States, and from the free market opened to her wheat and natural products. What does she stand to lose?

In the United States no attempt is made to disguise the fact that cheaper food and increased supplies of raw material are urgently needed, in order to develop manufactures and foreign trade which can no longer depend on exports of wheat and cattle. These wants Canada can supply out of her vast and developing resources. But Canada cannot be content to be for ever a farm and a forest and a mine to supply the needs of the United States. She aspires to have factories of her own in the West and Middle-west as well as in the East.

Two consequences must follow for a time at any rate from the Reciprocity agreement which, on the one hand, gives the United States increased supplies of food and raw

material, and, on the other hand, gives Canada some cheaper manufactured goods. The development of Canadian manufactures must be retarded, for they cannot compete on anything approaching equal terms with the wealthy and highly organised industrial combinations of the United States. Canadian railways also will be affected by the diversion of traffic from west to east into the shorter and less remunerative haulage from north to south. But the railway companies have compensations that appear to have reconciled them with the Reciprocity agreement. The three great companies—the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, and the Canadian Northern—have interests in United States Railways which will secure to them a share in the profits of this diversion of traffic. Moreover, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has 13,000,000 acres of land to sell, and the Canadian Northern has 1,150,000 acres, to which settlers from the United States may be attracted. It is clear from the attitude of these railway companies that they do not anticipate any danger of the shattering of the great steel framework of the Dominion.

The manufacturers of Canada do not share the enthusiasm of the farmers or the confidence of the railway magnates. They look

upon the Reciprocity agreement as a Trojan horse, out of which will come one day competitors armed to destroy them. True, the tariff remains on most of the manufactures that Canada at present produces; but, despite recent and popular fallacies, it is a sure law of trade that products must be paid for in products, and that the United States will pay for Canadian wheat and raw material in United States manufactures.

How will these new relations between Canada and the United States affect the Imperial connection? There are many people who firmly believe that this is the end of our dream of a Federated Empire. These despondents are tearing their hair as if baldness was a remedy for disappointment, and are refusing to admit the possibility of Canada ratifying the agreement. It is hard to confess to delusion, but arguments are no use against earthquakes. Sooner or later those of us who have been rearing the stately fabric of a Federated Empire on the foundation of Imperial Preference, will have to revise our plan. It is no use pretending that this foundation stone remains where imagination and hope had placed it. There cannot be Imperial Preference based on Protective

tariffs, such as Mr. Chamberlain designed, as long as the United States and Canada have a common market in Canadian produce upon which Imperial Preference was to be given. Do not let us be like the foolish man who spent all his time and effort on an ornamental lodge, and died before he could begin the palace he had been planning.

If we cannot have Imperial Preference we can still have Imperial Federation. Imperial Federation is not dependent on exclusive dealing. It has a more enduring basis than the uncertain convictions of statesmen on Protection or on Free Trade. Not all the tariffs in the world can hold the British Empire together, if sentiment and racial instinct are withdrawn. Our adversary may again prove our helper. We can use even the Reciprocity agreement to strengthen our relations with our kinsmen on both sides of the Canadian border.

It is an axiom of economics and of life that if you increase the purchasing power of a customer you thereby increase your own prosperity. This agreement will increase the purchasing power of Canada. If our merchants and manufacturers will act upon this sound doctrine, instead of waiting upon

the actions of statesmen, if they will read the reports of the Board of Trade expert in Canada instead of the speeches in Parliament, they cannot fail to profit by the growing development of the Dominion. The Preference of one-third given to British traders by Canada still assures us an advantage over all competitors. Let British merchants and manufacturers use this advantage now and to the uttermost, for, despite all assurances, the time must come when it will cease to be operative.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAY TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

"I would say to Great Britain, "If you want us to help you, call us to your Councils."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canadian Prime Minister, in the Dominion House of Commons, March, 1900.

ELEVEN years have gone and the Dominions are still waiting the call. If it comes now, will it be too late for Canada? I for one do not believe that it is too late. Canada, it is true, is about to conclude a bargain with the United States that will put an end to the hope of an Imperial Customs Union based on preferential tariffs. There can be no Imperial Preference as long as there is a common market for the natural products of Canada. Wheat is the only export on which an Imperial Preference can be profitable to the Dominion, and that wheat will soon become the common property of the United States as well as Great Britain. To imagine that we can maintain Imperial

Preference on Canadian wheat by admitting United States wheat to the same privilege, or by establishing some artificial and complicated system of transport, as some despairing critics pretend, is to imagine a vain thing.

Imperial Preference is neither the first nor the last word in Imperial Federation. There is a more vital bond of Empire. Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed it to us eleven years ago. "Call us to your Councils!" If we had accepted this invitation we should not now be bemoaning the reciprocity agreement and a prospective increase in the price of bread. We have not called Canada to our Councils, and Canada has not called us to her Councils. For note that it is an agreement and not a treaty which Canada is concluding with the United States. A treaty requires imperial sanction. An agreement is an act of domestic legislation, and the assent of the Dominion Parliament makes it law in Canada.

The British Government has rejected "the greatest commercial bargain ever offered to a commercial nation." We cannot recall neglected opportunities. There is no lost property office for golden moments. To look forward to the day when Canada will follow the example of the United States half a century

ago and repudiate this second reciprocity agreement is to delude ourselves with false hope and to waste time. The conditions to-day are different. Canada is a rapidly developing country, and in three years this agreement will have created many bonds that cannot be severed by a resolution of the Dominion Parliament.

We must take the road that lies open. We must call the Dominions to our Councils. This is the only way to Imperial Unity—to give the Dominions a voice and a vote in the great problems of the Empire. Lord Milner has never ceased to regret that in the settlement of South African affairs after the war he did not consult the Dominions. "It was," he admits, "by their efforts as well as ours that South Africa was kept within the Empire, and the subsequent policy was a clear case for imperial co-operation." We must have no more regrets of this kind. Sir Edward Grey has learned the lesson. He is going to submit the Declaration of London to the Imperial Conference because it involves questions of the safety and the trade of the Dominions. And he will have no cause to regret this departure from precedent, for if he convinces the representatives of the Dominions

—as he believes he will—the Declaration of London will become an important chapter in international law.

But Imperial Conferences are not enough. They are only temporary expedients, and have inherent defects and limitations. They meet at long intervals and are merely consultative bodies without constitutional authority and responsibility. Imperial Conferences without doubt do good work in making known to the British Government the opinions of the Dominions on important questions of common interest to the several parts of the Empire. But their powers and their constitution are defective. Their resolutions carry no sanction recognised by the Constitution of Great Britain or of the Dominions. Their members are statesmen who are elected on domestic or even party issues without reference to the greater issues that concerns not one part but every part of the Empire. They speak for political parties, rarely for nations, more rarely for the Empire.

How can we change this expedient into a regular system? How can we establish an Imperial Council permanent in constitution and empowered to deal with matters of common interest not only among the States of the

Empire, but also between any or all of the States of the Empire and a foreign State? This should be the goal of our endeavour. An Imperial Senate may be ours one day when we in this country have cleared our own parliamentary institutions of the accumulations of centuries of make-shift and provincial pragmatism. But that day has not yet dawned, though a feeble ray of light is visible on the horizon. We cannot wait for the Imperial Senate. It may come too late to save the Empire. We can have the Imperial Council now. We can call the Dominions to that Council and can admit them to a part in shaping those imperial policies the success or the failure of which they have to share with ourselves.

This is a practical proposal and is not beyond the compass of statesmanship. It would give stability and continuity to imperial policy. To the loyal attachment of the Dominions it would add an enduring sense of responsibility. It would gratify their natural ambition and vanity. It would silence the cry so often heard in some of the Dominions, "Why should we be called upon to defend with our lives and our money policies in which we have no voice?" It would make impossible

such bargains as that which Canada is making with the United States because Great Britain refused an even greater bargain. And it would banish our own Jeremiahs who are for ever lamenting the decay of the British Empire and looking hopelessly to the day when some Teutonic Joshua will sound the trumpet and bring down the walls of an Empire built not on rock but on sand.

[NOTE :—Those who are interested in this question may read with interest, "An Imperial Policy," by Mr. James Roberts.]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PARNELL OF QUEBEC.

"Go and see Mr. Bourassa," said my friends in Montreal.

Mr. Bourassa is a French-Canadian, the leader of the Nationalist Party and a most interesting figure in Canadian politics. I was anxious to talk with a man whom many people look upon as the future Parnell of Quebec. But Mr. Bourassa is a very busy man, and though a journalist, or perhaps because he is a journalist, is not given to interviews. However, my old friend Mr. Hector Garneau, who is following in the steps of his famous grandfather, and is about to appear as the historian of Canada, succeeded in capturing his compatriot for me.

Mr. Bourassa was at his desk in the office of *Le Devoir*, for he has transferred to Canada the French tradition of combining journalism with an active part in politics. In speech and

appearance the Nationalist leader might easily be mistaken for an Englishman. When he takes his pipe out of his pocket and leans back in his chair the illusion is complete, but the illusion vanishes with a glimpse of his profile. Full-face Mr. Bourassa is British ; side-face he is decidedly French.

I wonder if this double physiognomy has anything to do with Mr. Bourassa's politics. His enemies say that he is anti-British, yet Mr. Bourassa says : " You must not think that we have been waging an anti-British campaign. Far from it. I tell you, and I tell the people of the provinces where the English predominate, we are just as loyal to the old land as they are." His friends declare that he is an anti-Imperialist, and Mr. Bourassa would be the last to deny it. His apologists, who do not scruple to use Mr. Bourassa as a stick with which to beat Sir Wilfrid Laurier, profess that he is neither anti-British nor anti-Imperialist, but only anti-Laurier.

Let us listen to him and judge for ourselves. Mr. Bourassa needs no prompting. He is a trained journalist and politician, with a natural gift of eloquence, a charming manner, and a reputation for sincerity and honest conviction which his words do not belie.

"I am opposed to the naval policy of the Government," says Mr. Borassa, "because it drags Canada into the abyss of militarism. What ground is there for supposing that if Great Britain was at war, Canada would be attacked or invaded? There are only two countries that could ever be suspected of hostile designs against Canada. Japan is one, and she is the ally of Great Britain. The United States is the other. We French-Canadians have resisted two military invasions from the United States, and have shed our blood freely to preserve the territory of Canada, and the integrity of the Empire. Are we asked to spend money in strengthening our frontier against the United States?"

"Great Britain, without consulting us, has permitted the United States to violate the treaty that forbade the movement of warships on the Great Lakes. Does anyone imagine for a moment that Great Britain would raise a finger if the United States were to spend millions on arming her northern frontier, or on adding to the number of American war vessels in the international waters that separate the United States from Canada? Against enemies outside our continent, the Monroe doctrine is our best defence. Therefore we do not believe

in the German peril. Formerly it was the menace of France, then the menace of Russia ; now the menace of Germany is paraded as an excuse for this naval law.

“ Admit for the moment—and it is possibly true—that Germany is a real menace to the power of Great Britain—to her commerce and her maritime supremacy. Are we Canadians responsible for this ? Have we had any part in directing the policy that has made Germany what she is to-day ?

“ In the last century Great Britain was engaged in no fewer than twenty-three wars and military expeditions. Yet, save in 1812, when the United States invaded Canada and were beaten, was Canadian territory menaced for one moment ?

“ It is said that we ought not to accept the protection and the services of Great Britain without contributing to their charge. If Canada separated from Great Britain to-morrow the British could not afford to have one soldier the less to or weaken their Navy by withdrawing a single ship. How, then, can it be said that Great Britain pays for our defence ?

“ Canada has no maritime interests that stand in need of defence. They would be protected by international law. Our commerce

with the United States is three and a half times greater than with the various parts of the British Empire. If British capital is invested in our railways and our municipal enterprises, our industries are supported by the capital of the United States.

"Having regard to these facts and conditions, why should we take upon our shoulders new burdens and responsibilities which neither our Constitution, nor our history, nor our traditions impose upon us?"

"I have just come from the West," I ventured to interrupt, "and have been tremendously impressed by the extraordinary development of the British provinces in the last ten years. Are you sure that these provinces share your views? Unless French-Canadians keep pace with the West, will not the British provinces become impatient? In a few years you will cease to hold the balance in population and will have become the minority."

"In fifteen years—before that time comes," replied Mr. Bourassa, "the Eastern provinces—Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—will have become French in language and Roman Catholic in faith."

Mr. Bourassa is of the temperament against which arithmetic beats in vain.

Here then is the root and flower of his overmastering ambition—a French enclave with the Monroe doctrine inscribed on its borders and a complacent and docile confederation bowing at his door and pleading to be admitted to the freedom of the Atlantic coast. Surely it is Papineau, his rebel grandfather, who speaks.

“And what of the privileges of the Roman Catholic Church?” I asked with some hesitation, for this is a question that Canadians always avoid or speak about with bated breath: “now that Spain has become restive, Quebec is the last stronghold of Roman Catholic privileges. Here they have the sanction of the law to a degree never permitted in the days when France ruled Quebec.” The Roman Catholic Church in Canada has deserted Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberals, and has thrown its enormous influence on the side of the Nationalist leader, Mr. Bourassa. For how long and for what purpose the Church has adopted this attitude no one in Canada pretends to know. And Mr. Bourassa was not disposed to enlighten me. He is content to say that the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec has no special privileges—no privileges that are not given to other religious bodies.

Frankly, Mr. Bourassa is no Imperialist.

He looks upon a Federal Empire as an idle and dangerous dream from which we shall presently awaken. "Geographically, it is impossible: politically, it is undesirable." This is his spoken and written conviction. He denounces Earl Grey for daring to preach the gospel of Imperialism, and holds that it is "contrary to the real unity of the Empire to seek to impose upon Canada, *which has no voice in the government of the Empire*, any share in its external responsibilities and its military defences outside the Canadian territory, the only portion of the Empire upon which the Canadian people may exercise any political or constitutional action."

To the careless and the uninitiated this may sound good imperial doctrine. But Mr. Bourassa and his friends drafted this resolution with their tongues in their cheeks. They want no voice in the Empire. They look forward to the day when the tie will be broken.

Hear Mr. Bourassa's confession: "If you leave Canada, like the rest of the Empire, to develop its own national and ethnic traditions, the separation will be a slow process and it will be friendly. We shall continue to be the best allies of Great Britain, and Great Britain,

like the other nations of Europe, will find it of advantage to preserve in North America the independence of a country that will serve as a counterpoise to the United States invasion."

Let us hear no more about Mr. Bourassa's sentiment toward the "old country" which has preserved for him his language, his faith, and his freedom. He who is not for us is against us. Mr. Bourassa may be only a dreamer, as some in Canada say, but such dreams are dangerous stuff when they are told to the inhabitants of Quebec and are sanctified with the blessing of their Mother Church.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH AND NATIONALISM.

IF the Nationalist movement were merely political, not even the ability and conviction of its leader, Mr. Bourassa, could save it from impotence. But behind this movement are two of the most powerful forces in human nature—language and religion.

We in the British Isles know how a single one of these forces can work confusion in the body politic and can divide Ireland into hostile camps. The Roman Catholic Church, with its claim to universal recognition, may repudiate nationality and language, yet it never hesitates to use these forces in order to promote its own objects. In Europe and in the United States, where the Roman Catholic Church has ceased to engage in local government, its bishops are neither English nor French ; they are Catholic. In the province of Quebec, where the Church claims and exercises its ancient privilege of local government, its bishops and priests share

in national aspirations and are swayed by national prejudices. They are French-Canadian and not merely Catholic.

When I spoke to Mr. Bourassa on this subject he denied that the Roman Catholic Church has any special privileges in Quebec. Yet this is what he said at the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal on September 10th, 1910:

“We have not in Canada the union of Church and State—do not let us be content with phrases. But we have, in the province of Quebec—I might almost say exclusively in the province of Quebec—concord and good understanding between the civil and religious authorities. From this concord we have laws that permit us to give to the Catholic Church a social and civil organism that exists in no other province of Canada and in no other part of the British Empire.”

Here Mr. Bourassa spoke the truth. Instead of “in no other province of Canada,” he might even have said in no other country in the world.

And why has the Roman Catholic Church these special privileges in the province of Quebec that she has in no other part of the

British Empire? It is because, under the British flag, Quebec enjoys free political institutions, and because, under such institutions power follows the majority of votes. Though the people of Quebec to-day have little in common with modern France and have no wish to return to their former allegiance, they are of French origin; they speak the tongue and hold the faith of ancient France. They have been taught that their language and faith are inseparable, that to abandon the one is to lose the other.

The Roman Catholic Church, they believe most firmly, is the last bulwark against denationalisation and the extinction of the language and religion to which they are sincerely attached. In this conviction the people of Quebec have put themselves unreservedly in the hands of the Church. Nothing in public or private life is too insignificant to escape the control of their bishops and priests. Their conscience, their education, their politics are controlled and directed by the Church; and the politician, be he Prime Minister of the Dominion or member of the Federal or the Provincial Parliament, who seeks the support of Quebec must first make terms with the Roman Catholic Church.

Let me give an example of this all-pervading power of the Church. Montreal has a population of 400,000, partly British, partly French. It was formerly the capital of Canada, and is still the commercial metropolis. Montreal has no public library and no public hospital, Why? Because the Roman Catholic bishop refused his assent to a public library unless he was permitted to select the books, and refused his assent to a public hospital unless Roman Catholic patients were separated from Protestant patients and put into the charge of Roman Catholic nurses and doctors.

It would be absurd to pretend that this domination is not resented by many French-Canadians who are good Catholics. I have heard them denounce it in unmeasured terms and predict the approach of the day when the bond will be shaken off and liberty of speech and of action restored. But these confessions are made with bated breath and in private conversation. Rarely, if ever, are they made in public, for the Church, as the German proverb says, has hands and feet as well as ears.

This is the power that lies behind the Nationalist movement in Canada and makes it a national and imperial danger. I am aware

that many people in the Dominion look upon the alliance of the Roman Catholic Church with the Nationalists as temporary only, and as a punishment of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, for supporting the demand for separate schools in Manitoba. *opposing*

"We have not yet learned what the Church wants," said a member of the Dominion Government with whom I was discussing this alliance. "You may be sure that now, as always, the Church has some concession in view."

Great Britain has never attempted to deprive French-Canadians of the free use of their language or their religion. Nine years ago, when the King and Queen visited Canada, I remember listening with patriotic pride to a eloquent address of the curé of Quebec to naval officers of the French Republic. "Under the flag of England we live in peace and enjoy the fullest liberty," was the burden of his discourse. No French-Canadian would for a moment dispute this statement. It has become the habit in Quebec, however, to speak of the privileges of the Church as prescriptive rights inherited from the days when Quebec was a French Colony, and confirmed after its conquest by

Great Britain. The most cursory examination of the records of the French occupation will show how little foundation there is for this pretension.

The Roman Catholic Church in Quebec levies taxes—I mean actually taxes, not voluntary contributions—for the building and maintenance of the churches, and the houses of the clergy: it levies a yearly tax for the support of the priest of each parish, and payment of these taxes is enforced by the civil courts. The real estate of the Church is exempted from taxation. When the British took possession of Canada there were only four companies of nuns, numbering in all 150 members, and four male orders, numbering about 100 members. French and Catholic kings were reluctant to grant charters of incorporation, being of opinion that there were “already too many communities and convents in Canada,” and that any increase was “most prejudicial to the interest of the country.”

Since the Confederation of the States of Canada, the Quebec Legislature has granted acts of incorporation to no fewer than 40 convents and monastic institutions. There are to-day in the province of Quebec 25 monastic orders with over 3,000 members, and 55

convents with over 10,000 members. Education is controlled by the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, and no book can be read in the schools that has not received the imprimatur of the Church.

I recount these facts in support of Mr. Bourassa's confession that in the province of Quebec the Roman Catholic Church has "a social and civil organism that exists in no other province of Canada and in no other part of the British Empire." These privileges carry power, and that power is exercised over a race of people who, however distinguished for their primitive virtues—honesty, industry, kindness, and politeness—have been secluded from the world in a bit of mediæval Europe planted on the banks of the St. Laurence and kept rigorously under clerical tutelage.

The Roman Catholic Church has on other occasions given its support to political parties in exchange for concessions and privileges. In supporting Mr. Bourassa and the anti-imperial policy, the Church may be merely preparing the way to other concessions, and Mr. Bourassa may share the fate of Mr. Mercier as soon as he has served its purpose. But would it not be wise for the Church to temper its political activities in Quebec with

the knowledge that the Western Provinces are rapidly readjusting the balance of power in the Eastern Provinces, that Roman Catholics and French-Canadians are ceasing to be the predominant partner in the Dominion, and that exceptional privileges are in their very nature transitory ?

If the Church will not take warning from France, of which it cherishes glorious memories, at least it may give heed to the words of one of its most distinguished prelates. The Archbishop of Westminster, Monseigneur Bourne, at the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal last September, spoke words of grave and unmistakable significance when he pointed to the rapid growth of the Western Provinces, and the consequent need for recognising English as the speech of Canada.

Already there is a breach between Roman Catholics of French origin and Roman Catholics of Irish origin in Canada on the question of language. A breach between Quebec and the Western Provinces on the abuse of ecclesiastical privileges would be even more disastrous.

CHAPTER X.

NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE.

IT is a tradition of the British Empire that every citizen may have his own religion and his own language. In the province of Quebec, where two-thirds of the French-speaking population of Canada live, we went beyond this permissive liberty. In our early efforts to reconcile French Canadians to the British flag we discouraged, if we did not forbid, British settlers in Quebec. And when the Roman Catholic Church, following the example of the British Government of those days, gave effect to the policy of isolating French Canadians, we made no attempt to safeguard the interests of the British settlers.

Now it is the nature of privilege to be at once timorous and aggressive. The French Canadians have obeyed this law of nature. The fear of losing their national individuality compelled them to push forward their frontiers and to remove from their midst any influence

that might prove dangerous to their religion and language.

In "The Tragedy of Quebec" Mr. Robert Sellar gives the history of this struggle, and shows that it has resulted in the expulsion of the Protestant farmers. Forty-five years ago, when he went to Huntingdon, the county, with the exception of St. Anicet, was as solidly Protestant as any in Ontario. "I have witnessed," says Mr. Sellar, "the decline of its Protestant population to the point of being in the minority. The same change, only in a more marked degree, has taken place in all the counties east of Richelieu. Missisquoi, founded by the United English Loyalists, has ceased to be Protestant. Drummond, Wolfe, Shefford may be said to be Catholic. The transformation has been going on with startling rapidity during the past fifteen years."

In Quebec the fact is accomplished and cannot be undone. But that is no reason why the process should be allowed to continue unchecked until Mr. Bourassa, the Nationalist leader, has realised his dream of five Roman Catholic and French-speaking provinces on the Atlantic coast. It is at present nothing more than a dream, for though the *habitant* speaks only French the citizen of Montreal

must speak English also. And the West is growing. The census of 1901 gave the population of Canada as 5,100,000, of whom 2,229,600 were Roman Catholic, and for the most part French-speaking. To-day the people number more than 7,000,000, and the proportion of the French-Canadians has fallen from nearly one-half to one-third. Mr. Bourassa does not recognise the omen, for his eyes are fixed on a Canadian nation independent of the British Empire. But there are prelates of the Roman Catholic Church who have seen the portent in the West.

Monseigneur Bourne, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, has read the portent aright and has had the courage to give timely warning. At the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal last September he spoke these significant words :

“ The French tongue, with which all progress in every department of life was identified, gave forth but one note when it expounded to the people the mysteries of religion, whether they were preached to those who had come from their ancestral home in France, or had in turn to be translated to the various races to whom the land once belonged.

“Now the circumstances have vastly altered. With slow increase at first, and now with an incalculable rapidity, another language is gaining for itself a paramount importance in the ordinary things of life. It would indeed be a matter of extreme regret were the French language, so long the one exponent of religion, culture, and progress in this land, ever to lose any portion of the consideration and cultivation which it now enjoys in Canada. But no one can close his eyes to the fact that in the many cities now steadily growing into importance throughout the Western Provinces of the Dominion the inhabitants for the most part speak English as their mother-tongue, and that the children of the Colonists who come from countries where English is not spoken will none the less speak English in their turn.”

I know that it may be said that the Archbishop is a British Imperialist and holds a brief for Irish Roman Catholics in Canada who resent the domination of the French language in their Church. Both these objections may be well founded. It is certainly true that between French and Irish Roman Catholics in the Eastern Provinces there is bitter antagonism

on this question. "I would rather any day vote for an Orangeman than for a French Canadian," said an Irish Roman Catholic to me in Ontario. Archbishop Bourne, therefore, in pleading for the recognition of the English language by the Church in Canada, is pleading also for unity in the Church.

How was his warning received? Mr. Bourassa, the Nationalist leader, without a day's delay, attacked the Archbishop for his temerity in finding the "principal source of the security of the Church in the general use of the English language."

"Would it not be imprudent?" asks Mr. Bourassa, "to ignore the conserving force, religious and moral, of the French language, not only among French Canadians but also among European Catholic immigrants who already speak French or would learn French in preference to English?" The Nationalist leader professes to believe that "a more general use of French in the Western Provinces would contribute to the unity of the Canadian people and to the maintenance of British institutions in Canada."

He would scatter miniature Quebecs over Canada and erect everywhere that monument to the folly of mankind—the tower of Babel.

Mr. Bourassa may not be a statesman. But he is too clever to be for a moment the victim of the illusions which he makes so attractive to the pious and secluded *habitants* of Quebec. He knows that neither the French language nor the Roman Catholic religion in the Dominion is in danger. It is not a question of the extinction of the French language, it is a question of the diffusion of the English language in a British Dominion.

What is it then that the Nationalist leader fears if the advice of a prelate of his Church is adopted? I will tell you. Archbishop Bourne had the temerity—it is a favourite word with Mr. Bourassa—to speak of Imperial Federation and to allude to the problem of the naval defence of Canada. Here is the secret of Mr. Bourassa's alarm. "What possible connection," he demands, "can there be between the propagation of the Catholic faith and the Imperial Federation, between the cult of the Eucharist and the defence of the coasts of British Columbia?"

Mr. Bourassa is a loyal and devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church and in his veins flows the blood of six generations of French ancestors. But he aspires to succeed where his grandfather Papineau failed, and to establish

a French-Canadian Republic on the shores of the North Atlantic. And, like Papineau also, he will discover that the Church has turned dead against him. The Roman Catholic Church has no ambition to confine its activities to one corner of the American Continent. It sees what the United States has done towards assimilating the many races of which its 95,000,000 people are composed. "We preach in English, we confess in English, and we teach in English," says Archbishop Ireland, who would go even to the length of assimilating French-Canadians with the English-speaking people of the Dominion.

No one wants to suppress the French language—"that good old language of France," which, according to Abbé Faguy, "has been in evil days the surest rampart of our national individuality, and in our days of liberty, the joy and jewel of our hearts." But the time has passed for artificial barriers between the races of Canada. Neither as French-Canadians nor as Roman Catholics can the Government and the Church in Quebec be guided solely by the traditions that "the *habitant* cannot be changed as long as he retains his own language. French should therefore be his sole means of communication, for by this means will his

religion be preserved." Canada is changing and the *habitant* must change. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. No nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind the general progress. Archbishop Bourne, in his warning to French-Canadians, was merely enunciating an eternal principle of life, and he is a safer guide than Mr. Bourassa.

CHAPTER XI.

NATIONALISM AND THE NAVY.

THERE are people who believe that we cannot have a United Empire unless we have exclusive dealing in commerce and centralised control in defence.

A Customs Union based on Protective tariffs and a War Union based on direct contributions from the Dominions would be an ideal solution of the problem of Imperial Federation. But the conditions essential to rigid unions of this kind do not at present exist, either in the British Isles or in the Dominions. Canada has given proof of this not only in the Reciprocity agreement with the United States but also in her scheme of naval and military defence. In commerce, as in defence, the Dominion insists on independence and individuality and refuses to acknowledge only one basis of Imperial union.

At the Imperial Defence Conference in 1909 three principles were affirmed :

(1) Naval supremacy.

(2) The duty of the Dominions to provide for their own territorial security.

(3) The need for a definite system of mutual assistance in time of need.

Canada has acted on these principles. To the military defences for which the Dominion undertook responsibility some years ago, the Government has added the obligation of creating and maintaining a fleet for the protection of Canada.

In time of peace the Dominion Navy is under the absolute control of the Dominion Government. But in emergencies, the Governor General in Council may mobilise the naval forces of the Dominion and place them at the service of the British Crown, on condition that the Dominion Parliament is convened without delay.

That Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, in framing this naval law, was moved by no unpatriotic reservations is clear from his emphatic declaration that "When Great Britain is at war, Canada is at war." He is denounced by some for having created "a Separatist Squadron," and by others for having

sacrificed the national independence of Canada by pledging the Dominion Navy to defend the British Empire. We must judge Sir Wilfrid Laurier according to the circumstances in which he has to act as Prime Minister, and not according to ideals deduced from Utopian schemes, either of federation or of separation.

What was it, then, that induced Sir Wilfrid Laurier to recommend a National Navy instead of a direct contribution to the Imperial Navy, and while retaining control in time of peace to surrender it in time of danger? The reason will not satisfy those who reject compromise as one of the conditions of statecraft. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, like other Prime Ministers, has often to serve two masters and is forced on critical occasions to choose the line of least resistance.

Had Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposed a subsidy in ships or money to the Imperial Navy he would have been accused of making Canada pay tribute to Great Britain. Had he proposed to place the Canadian Navy under the control of the British Admiralty he would have been accused of sacrificing the national independence of Canada.

After his habit, Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the

middle course, and, according to his adversaries, commended his Navy to Quebec on the ground that it would not help the Empire, and to Ontario on the ground that it was imperialistic. That he had reason for caution will be readily acknowledged by anyone who has heard even the echo of the controversy that has raged in Canada, and threatens to revive racial antagonisms of the most dangerous kind.

For fourteen years the Liberals of Canada, led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, have been in power—a period long enough to exasperate opponents into setting the house on fire in the hope of evicting Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues. This is what happened in 1910 at the election in Drummond and Arthabaska—the home of Sir Wilfrid Laurier—where Conservatives and Nationalists, uniting to defeat the Liberal candidate, took common ground in opposing the naval policy of the Government. But between these electioneering allies is a radical difference in principle, as their votes in the Parliament in Ottawa have since shown.

The Conservative Party has every desire to strengthen the imperial bond and to contribute to the defence of the Empire ; it stands for an Imperial, as opposed to a Separatist, naval policy. Nationalists, on the contrary, are

hostile to every form of Imperialism, and reject any naval or military policy that might involve Canada in the defence of the Empire.

'This is the fundamental difference that must be kept in mind when considering the attitude of Canadian Conservatives toward the Dominion Government's naval policy. It is a difference in method rather than in principle. The Nationalist attitude, though cloaked in a demand for a direct appeal to the people, is one of uncompromising hostility to the principle as well as to the method. They have roused, as I shall show, every force that prejudice of race and religion and language can command in order to arrest and thwart the imperial tendencies of the Dominion. They have invoked, without scruple, ignorance and fear among a class of people peculiarly susceptible to such appeals. Happily, there are many French-Canadians who share the belief expressed by Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux, the Canadian delegate at the opening of the Federal Parliament of South Africa, as to the value set on the Empire by the French in Quebec: "It has given them the fullest security for their religion, language, traditions, and all they prize in life. It will do no less for the Dutch, but it must always be remembered that in Canada and South

Africa, as in all other parts of the Empire, the privileges of the Empire will vanish if the responsibilities are not clearly and conscientiously faced."

How certain of Mr. Lemieux's compatriots who have enlisted under the banner of Nationalism regard the Imperial connection, the following extracts will show :—

Mr. Blondin, Nationalist member of Parliament for Champlain :

"We owe nothing to Great Britain. England did not take Canada for love, or to plant the Cross of religion as the French did, but in order to plant their trading posts and make money. The only liberties we have are those we won by force, and to-day England tries to dominate its Colonies as imperial Rome once did."

* * * * *

"The English have never done anything for the French-Canadians ; we owe them nothing. Those who disembowelled your fathers on the Plains of Abraham ask you to-day to go and get killed for them."

* * * * *

"We are French-Canadians, not

English. French-Canadians are not going to cringe to Englishmen. They will not go out to get their backs broken for them."

Mr. Armand Lavergne (also a Nationalist) to the women of Victoriaville :

"I appeal to you, ladies—are we not right? It is from you that sacrifices will also be asked. It will be you who will have to send your husbands, your lovers, or your sons to fight on foreign seas. I appeal to you ladies, for I feel, if I may make the remark without sacrilege, that the sacrifice of Calvary would not have been so complete had there not been a woman to mingle her tears with those shed by the Crucified."

These are no isolated attacks. They are taken from a mass of speeches and newspaper articles. Nor do they represent the opinions of irresponsible politicians alone. Mr. Monk, M.P., is looked upon as one of the Conservative leaders, yet he does not scruple to put his name to such declarations as this :

"If, then, we are a nation, as people are pleased to cry from the house-top, we lack the most essential attribute of any nation ; that is to say, the faculty of determining

what line of conduct we shall follow *vis-a-vis* other nations, and when we shall resort to force to uphold our rights. In short, the Imperialists have obtained indirectly what they could not get directly."

Even the late Charles Stewart Parnell could have gone no further than this in his desire to separate Ireland from the Empire.

Mr. Bourassa is the leader of the Nationalist Party and a growing power in the Dominion. What has he to say on the question of Imperialism? Commenting on the election in Drummond and Arthabaska, he writes :

" But what is of vastly more importance in my view than the personal check to the Prime Minister is the manifest condemnation, sweeping and without reserve, of the Naval Law and the Imperialistic policy. . . . They have given Earl Grey (Governor-General of Canada) and all the Imperialists to understand that it is not enough to beguile or intimidate party chiefs in order to rule over the heart of the people."

Bear in mind that these appeals are addressed to a people alien in race, religion, and language, a people who number one-third of the population of Canada and the majority of whom

know nothing and care nothing about the great movements that are rapidly changing the face of Canada and the conditions of the British Empire.

These are the people who are told that :

“The Navy is a conspiracy of the English to drown the Canayens. Laurier has consented, after having betrayed us as regards our language, to man all the ships of war which we will have with French-Canadians. This will take 50,000 to 60,000 men, all fathers of families or young men on the point of so becoming, who will have to go to Japan, China or Oceania, under the command of English officers, who, wishing to make our race disappear, will see to it that these ships go to the bottom of the sea. Laurier has sold us to the English in return for the honours he has received, and in twenty-five years there will be no French-Canadians left.”

If the creation of a Navy under Canadian control, with contingent liability to serve in defence of the Empire, can inspire such sentiments, what are we to expect when Canada is invited to share the full responsibilities as well as the privileges of Empire?

CHAPTER XII.

THE CALL OF THE WEST.

IF I have given most attention to the Eastern Provinces of Canada, it is because in these provinces are important problems of race, religion, and politics, in which everybody must have an interest. The West has problems of another kind. There the people are more scattered and self-dependent; processes of development and fusion are more active; communities are new or unformed; interests are less divergent and conflicting, and energies are directed to more circumscribed and concrete purposes.

The West of Canada is a nation in the making. Pioneers are not often politicians. When men are conquering the prairies and laying the foundations of their prosperity and independence they have no time for controversy.

To understand the West you must not be

content with Regina and Winnipeg and Vancouver. These are centres of population and of trade that differ from other towns only in the rapidity of their growth. You must leave the railways and journey across the prairies where the pioneer is at work carrying civilisation and cultivation nearer and nearer to the Arctic regions. And you must see the prairies under two conditions and at two seasons. In summer the skies are blue, the air is warm and sunny, the plains are golden with grain, and men and nature rejoice in the rich harvest. Then the prairies are a delight to the eye, a joy and an inspiration to the mind. In winter they are vast solitudes swept by icy winds. The earth covers itself with a white shroud, and the spirit of vacancy descends upon the world. The farmer suspends his labours, and sheltered by his wooden walls awaits with resignation the awakening of the earth from her winter sleep.

Looking upon our untilled acres and our decaying villages in the British Isles, we console ourselves with the reflection that men are gregarious animals, and shrink from solitude in the country even when neighbours are within reach. Is this a truth or only a theory? Men who cross the sea, we are told,

change their sky but not their mind. Why do men go to these solitudes in the West? Why do they cheerfully face hardships and privations that few of them need endure in the Old Country? It is because the West is the land of hope, where men know that they will reap where they have sown, where they are not for all time labourers in another's vineyard, where they will one day be able to satisfy that strongest of human passions—the passion for possession and independence. That is why men leave Great Britain for the prairies of Canada.

I know that it is the custom to pass lightly over the difficulties and privations of the new settler in the West. It is a wise custom in action, for the man who looks at difficulties rarely looks upon achievements. But it is well that the immigrant should know what is before him, and should not be deluded into the belief that he is merely changing his sky and not his whole surroundings and his conditions of life. That is why we have many failures and disappointments in Canada and why the American invader is so welcome there. The American settler is either a pioneer or the son of a pioneer, to whom the ways and moods of the prairie are no secret and for

whom they have no terrors. Yet even he is occasionally overcome by the solitude of life on the plains.

Canadian authorities have begun to realise that isolation is an obstacle to be overcome. They are devising means to overcome it by closer settlement of the land, by building houses near to the meeting point of boundaries, by cheap telephone service, by co-operative societies and by sending experts to advise and instruct the farmers. The effect of these innovations is already apparent. Formerly the homesteads on a section of 260 acres were as far apart as four neighbours could be. To-day they are grouped together near the centre of every section. Formerly each family made its own purchases, which involved a journey to the nearest town. The new settlements have a central depot where samples are kept, and each settler or a member of his family takes his turn in going to town to market for the little community. The periodic visits of the agricultural experts not only quicken the interest of the farmers and stimulate their enterprise; they also bring the settlers into closer and more friendly relations.

These are great improvements, and tend toward making life on the prairies more human

and attractive. There is another innovation which in time will have even more influence in drawing to the West men of energy and capital. Hitherto the immigrant has been his own pioneer. He had his plot or his section of land. Here he built his own little wooden house to shelter himself and his family while he cleared and prepared the ground for cultivation. This was the first and the greatest discouragement for the man who has neither the instincts nor the experience of a pioneer. Imagine what would happen to most of us if we were set down upon a few score acres of bare and scrub land and were told that our existence depended on making it into a farm. How many of us, even with a little experience at home, would survive this ordeal?

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who next to the Dominion Government are the greatest landowners in Canada, are meeting with this difficulty. Their ready-made farms are still few and are reserved for British settlers who have both capital and experience of farming. But the experiment has been a success in more ways than one. It has shown that a very large and excellent class of immigrants are eager to avail themselves of these

farms, and it has opened the eyes of the company and of the Government to the serious difficulties and expenses to which the settler is put at the outset of his career. A great corporation with every facility of transport and with material and labour at command can clear and fence the land, build the house, sink the well, and do the work of preparation more quickly and at less cost than the individual pioneer.

Having established the system of ready-made farms, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, tells me that it will be extended. The competition for these farms has been so keen that the highest qualifications have been demanded from the settlers. In time the conditions will be varied so as to give an opening to British immigrants with smaller capital and less experience. These new and practical methods cannot fail to stimulate migration to the West.

We may regret the withdrawal of men of this class from the British Isles, especially when we see the gaps filling with pauper aliens and criminals. Yet I confess that nothing fills me with greater pride of race and inspires me with more confidence in the future of the

British Empire than these men of the Western prairies. Young men of strong frame, independent bearing, resolute and intelligent face. Nowhere will you find more worthy descendants of the people who have been the great pioneers of the world, and have carried our traditions and our language to the uttermost parts of the globe.

When I hear Americans boast of their superiority as pioneers I think of the men who blazed the first trail to the Pacific, who are pushing their way through savage Africa, who have settled Australia and New Zealand, who have conquered India, and are forcing our civilisation into the great lone lands of Canada. They are everywhere, these men, and courage and determination are stamped on their every movement. They fill the hotels of Calgary and Edmonton and Saskatoon, until you imagine that the world must be growing younger and not older, and you cease to wonder at towns throbbing with life where ten years ago you saw only the bare and limitless plains. And if you feel this vigorous impulse in the towns which are the products and the stimulants of the country, you feel it also in the remote settlements, where courage has not the same companionship and self-

reliance is not merely a virtue but a necessity of life. It will not impress you so boldly in these isolated places, but the spirit is there, and it is making a new nation in the West.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRUIT FARMING.

AT Winnipeg I saw an advertisement that I shall never forget.

In the city is a great store. Within are all the necessities and luxuries of life artfully displayed. Without are apples—nothing but apples. Windows and streets of golden apples with rosy cheeks. They sparkle and flame everywhere. Their mass is a wonder. Winnipeg seemed a great orchard walled with rubies and gold. I can never forget that store. Whenever I see an apple the picture comes back vividly and I wander again in the garden of Hesperides away on the western prairies.

And I can never forget that the apples of the Okanagan are golden and rosy and fragrant and sweet. For these myriads of apples came from this happy valley in British Columbia and told of their birthplace with conscious pride.

British Columbia is a new world, after the prairies. A world of mountains and rivers and forests, and a few things besides in its 395,000 square miles, where you could put three United Kingdoms and still have room to spare for another Ireland. This is where the apples are grown and the timber and the salmon and all the riches that are written large in the chronicles of emigration agencies. I am not going to pour red ink over these natural resources. My purpose is to point out one attraction and one career to people who have neither the experience nor the ambition to become farmers. What I have to say is meant for the man of the professional or the middle class who has a moderate pension or some capital.

Let my preface be a warning. You hear stories of men who go to Canada with a few pounds and make their fortunes in a few years. There are such men in every country—even in our own “played out” little island. As long as the land “boom” lasts in Western Canada there is a chance for the speculator to get rich quickly. But most of the land available for immediate development is in the hands of companies that know its market value to a cent. The investor who comes

along now has either to develop his land or to wait.

You hear stories also of men who go into fruit farming and come out in a few years with the fortunes of brewers. I have not met any of these apple-made millionaires, but I do know a soldier who with three years' profits paid for ten acres of orchard and assured his future livelihood. No doubt there are others. But in Canada, as elsewhere, success is more often dependent on effort than on chance. Those who preach any doctrine other than endeavour and patience make disappointments and deter would-be settlers whose first stake is their last.

First of the man with a fixed and moderate income who seeks a home and not a career in Canada. Some years ago I went to Quebec in company with a British colonel who had served in India and South Africa and had retired on a pension. He had a family of unmarried daughters and had no wish to spend his days in genteel poverty at home. He was on his way to inspect British Columbia as a possible place where a man of his means and position could command not merely the necessities of life but also some of its luxuries and amusements. I did not meet the colonel in

my last visit, but I have heard from him since my return. He is enthusiastic. He lives like a country gentleman and a sportsman on an income that would have obliged him to live in a suburb at home and to seek his comfort at his club. Two of his daughters are married, and he is indulging in a hobby and adding to his income by keeping bees and poultry. "I am a man of the country," he concludes, "instead of an old fossil at the club."

This is the experience of many who make their homes in British Columbia because of its climate and its opportunities for sport. In Vancouver Island, not far from the railway, which is making a rail through the forests to the north, you find many men of this class. Their picturesque and comfortable wooden houses border the lakes, where the salmon rise every minute, or are embowered in the woods, where game is abundant, as you can see, for every other man has a gun over his shoulder and a dog at his heels. Life goes easy with these people. Society makes no demands upon them, and no man feels "out of it" because he has not money to burn. I can imagine no more attractive life for the man who has laid aside his armour and is finished with the fierce struggle of the world. He has

the pursuits and the pleasures to which he has been accustomed and of which he would be deprived at home because of diminished income. And he has the companionship of men of his own class—many distinguished for service in the Army, the Navy, or the public service.

I come now to those other settlers who stand midway between the independent pensioner and the laborious and isolated farmer on the prairies. I have recently had a visit in London from a friend who has joined some men in a scheme for fruit farming. Most of them are retired Army officers and their leader is well known. Their purpose is to establish a little community of people who must do something for a living, who have a little capital, and whose education and circumstances will make them a social companionship in the new country. They have the option of land owned by an American company in British Columbia, not far from the United States border. The land is divided into ten-acre sections and is uncleared, which means that the occupier must prepare the soil, must plant his fruit trees, must build his house and fences, and must wait five or six years for his fruit harvest. The land is not cheap, for fruit-bearing land has high value

when within reach of railways and markets. The initial expenses are considerable and five years is a long time to wait. But the farmer need not sit down to watch his fruit-trees growing. He can become a market gardener in the interval and can live in a boarding-house managed by an Englishwoman who is going out with the company.

The man who succeeds as a fruit farmer has a healthy, pleasant, independent life, and much profit to stimulate his energies. There are thousands who succeed, and those succeed best who know and do their own work and limit their early ambition to a ten-acre section. In some districts nature and competition have set the limits already. Farmers of the Okanagan Valley tell the story of a visitor to Nelson who, passing one day along the shores of the lake, saw a whirlwind of dust on the road and found in the centre of it a Kootenay farmer, who swore that this was the third time that day he had fallen out of his orchard.

It is mainly in the southern districts of British Columbia where you come upon idylls of country life that make you register a vow to forswear the town and its sordid pursuits. There the valleys are orchards white and pink, with blossom and the promise of rich harvests.

But apples, pears, cherries, and small fruits grow even as far north as Hazelton on the Skeena River, and the settler who takes the precaution of personally surveying the country has a wide choice. And it is prudent that he should make investigation on the spot. He will find safe counsellors among the experts of the Government, as well as among the farmers, who look with no jealous eye over their neighbour's fence. For it is important that the beginner should know something not merely of the capacity of the soil but also of the social conditions of the neighbourhood, the means of transport and the markets. Neglect of these precautions often brings disappointment and loss. He must also have the means and the patience to wait and the enterprise and energy to take advantage of other openings for making a living while his fruit trees are growing. If he has these qualifications and a fair share of luck he need not hesitate to become a fruit farmer in British Columbia.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN IDEAL AND ITS PRICE.

I WAS having my shoes "shined" in the "parlour" set apart for that business. For on the American Continent it is a real business, though the hotels have begun to make concessions that allow you to summon the shoe-black, who will carry away your boots or shoes instead of compelling you to descend to his "parlour" with the evidences of yesterday's mud on you feet.

It was a dapper little Japanese with a solemnly smiling face who took me in hand, and while he polished with a rhythmic swing and swish of the waxed cloth we talked like two brothers. He had been a petty officer in Admiral Togo's fleet, and I had been a correspondent with the Japanese Army in the war. So the Japanese shoe-black and ex-petty officer smiled and treated me as a comrade. I am not going to betray him by hinting in

which part of Canada I met him, for he gave me confidences that set me wondering why I had to pay sevenpence every time I wanted my shoes polished, and why a Japanese shoe-black should earn £300 a year, when there are shoeblacks in London who would be rich on £50 a year.

My Japanese friend told me without hesitation that he pays \$10 (or £2) a month for his monopoly, and that in dull time, when visitors are comparatively few, he makes £1 a day at fifteen cents (or sevenpence) a pair. Can you wonder why there are so many millionaires in America, when an alien shoeblack can earn £300 a year, and keep an understudy besides?

Elsewhere I met another interesting alien from the far East. He was a Chinaman, and head waiter in the hotel—a little shrivelled-up Cantonese, over whose Dutch-cheese complexion was the shadow of hatred of the “foreign devil” whom he condescended to serve. I had waited more than an hour for breakfast, and when it came at last I had the temerity to remark in the mildest of tones that it had been a long time coming. “I don’t care,” shouted my Chinaman, with a scowl like the mask that Chinese soldiers used to wear when they wanted to frighten the enemy.

instead of killing him. I did not stop to ask whether he cared or not, but the manageress of the hotel told me that he would probably "knife" me. He did not. He met me in the dining-room and escorted me to the table with a seraphic smile.

And I added to my problem of the Japanese shoeblack with £300 a year this second problem: How does it happen that a Chinaman so far from Canton can insult a guest in the hotel where he is head waiter?

I put the case to the clever and determined Scottish manageress, and she gave me the answer to both conundrums.

"If the Chinaman is not satisfied he will discharge himself at a moment's notice, and will find a score of eager competitors on the doorstep clamouring for his services.

"If we get English waiters they disappear with their first week's earnings, and if they are seen again, it is not in a condition to induce forgiveness."

"The English waiter," I ventured to remind her, "is a rarity at home, and the British do not come to Canada to earn a living as waiters."

The Chinaman pays \$500 for the privilege of entering Canada, for there is no Free Trade

in the Dominion, not even in Chinamen. And being a highly protected article of importation, the Cantonese servant knows his value to a cent and takes care that you shall not forget it.

Many of these aliens from the Far East are birds of passage. They stay long enough to save a few hundred pounds and then return to their homes as rich men. My Japanese shoe-black told me that he was going back to Tokio in two years to start a business. Some become shopkeepers, and a few settle on the land. I came upon a Japanese farm settlement by accident. I was on my way to visit a prosperous British community on some of the "ready-made" farms of the Canadian and Pacific Railway Company, when the motor broke down. It was a bitterly cold day, with an icy wind sweeping over the bare prairie, and we had to abandon the visit to the British settlement.

"There is a Japanese farm six miles from here," said our guide; "let us go there instead." We came to the wooden homestead, and were welcomed by a smiling Japanese, who showed us without hesitation every room and corner in the house. Never was a place cleaner or more tidy. The cooking utensils shone like silver, and on the table

were Japanese and Canadian newspapers. The reaping and threshing machinery was boarded up for the winter, and in the yard was a wooden shack, fitted like a Japanese bathroom, with a furnace and a pump from the well. In the cellar were turnips and potatoes—a pitiful pile, for in this district there had been drought and the crops had failed. The Japanese cultivators, men and women, were at work on the far limit of the farm, and we did not see them. We were told that they are an industrious, ingenious, and thrifty people whose credit with their neighbour is such that their “word is as good as their bond.”

Yet neither the Japanese nor the Chinese are welcomed in Canada except by those who are in urgent need of their services. In Vancouver and along the Pacific coast the prejudice against the Japanese especially, is almost as strong as in California. But the demand for labour is insistent, and the prejudice remains passive. Everywhere in the West and the Middle west is heard the cry for more labourers on the land. Even the men who break stones and mend the roads in the Island of Vancouver earn seven shillings a day, and their wives and daughters are invited to the popular dances.

“The labour situation,” said my experienced

guide, "is a serious problem in this western country. It impedes our every step. In spite of all our efforts we have entirely failed to meet the demand." Last year the Immigration Department received from the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta 16,430 applications for farm labour, experienced and inexperienced. This did not include the demands for harvest help. The system is largely to blame. When the harvest is gathered and winter begins to tighten its cold grip on the land, labourers are not needed. They drift back to the towns, and those who can obtain any kind of permanent employment are loath to return to the farms.

It is the old story of the "ganging system" in England of former days, when the Poor Laws were a hindrance to the settlement of labourers on the land where they were employed. Efforts are being made to counteract this oscillation of labour between town and country, and to induce farmers to house and employ their labourers in the winter. The Immigration offices are trying to make this a condition, and invariably give precedence to the applications of farmers who are willing to provide for their labourers during the winter.

But the problem of labour will never be

solved to the satisfaction of the farmer or the householder. Canada wants only the best, and seeks it with effort and expenditure of money wherever it may be found—in Great Britain, in the United States, in Scandinavia, in France, and in the Netherlands. And “the best” do not leave their homes to remain labourers in the fields of another man as long as they may have fields of their own and the prospect of one day being themselves hirers of labour.

The Commissioner of Immigration told me in Ottawa that 98 per cent. of the children who leave workhouse schools in Great Britain and are sent to Canada between the ages of eight and fourteen years are most desirable immigrants. “Very many of them,” he said, “become prosperous farmers, and only this morning I saw two ladies in their carriages whom I remember as children from your workhouse schools.” In this romance lies one of secrets of Canada’s difficulty with regard to labour.

Canada has set herself a high ideal, and she must pay the price. But it is worth it.

CHAPTER XV.

A REAL AMERICAN INVASION.

You know the story of the provoked wife whose husband was always telling her how much better his mother did things. "Did your mother ever do this?" exclaimed the irate wife as she poured the contents of the despised dish over her critic's head.

I commend this story to some of my countrymen who go to Canada to tell the people how much better we do things at home. These are the men who come back with the news that Canada has written over her door: "No Englishman need apply." It is the "provoked wife" who tacks that legend to the end of an advertisement in a Canadian newspaper.

Canadians are human and—British. They do not like being told how much better we do things at home, And they have reason. Have they not with them always the poor man who

has left us because the Old Country has gone to the dogs, and the rich man who is seeking investments because the Old Country is going to the dogs?

Among the antiquities of Egypt is the letter of a man who complained that the climate had changed because there had been a shower of rain. That was 5,000 years ago, and Egypt is still spending millions to water the parched land. Every country—except Germany—is always going to the dogs. But we need not be for ever shouting the news. We in the British Isles, at any rate, do not believe it—except at election times, when our adversaries are heading the poll. But then we have a Chancellor of the Exchequer to remind us every year that we are not paupers, whereas Canadians have only the poor immigrant and the rich investor to tell them of our parlous condition.

I often wonder if the people of this country realise how successfully they have preached the gospel of their own decadence. They have made converts in every part of the world. Even our own children have to come home in order to find that they cannot sit on London Bridge and admire the ruins of St. Paul's Cathedral. But, unfortunately, they cannot all

come home. Millions of them can see us only with their ears, and they are not to blame if they take us at our word. The man whose business is failing does not advertise the fact, He buys a carriage to show his customers—and his creditors—how prosperous he is. I know a man who rose to a great public position in that way.

These reflections are forced upon me when I look at the Canadian newspapers and see how often they are dependent on United States agencies for their British news. Canadian newspapers are excellent. They are conducted by men of marked ability, and their editorial articles are not only well informed, but are written with impartiality and common sense worthy of imitation elsewhere. They are also as enterprising as their circumstances permit, for after all journalism is a business, and has the limitations of all private enterprises. I am not going to invite the retort of the “provoked wife” by presuming to criticise my betters. Neither am I going to criticise the United States news agencies who know their business thoroughly, and do not need to be told what the United States public require in the way of British news. Every country has the journalism it deserves and can pay for.

News, like every other kind of merchandise, costs money. But, unlike other exports, it cannot be sent over thousands of miles of sea and land at cheaper rates than the railway companies demand at home. This is the difficulty of Canadian newspapers—the cost of transmission of news direct from Great Britain. There is a Canadian Association in London for the collection and distribution of news in the Dominion, and there are Canadian newspapers that have their own services. But the bulk of the news concerning the British Empire reaches Canadians through United States newspapers and agencies who are able to sell it cheap because the only extra charge they incur in order to supply Canada is the cost of transmission from the United States to Canada. It is like a man selling a few extra copies of a photograph already taken and paid for.

The effect of this arrangement is that Canadians usually see us and our affairs through American glasses. And these American glasses have properties of their own and do not invariably see things aright. Canadian newspapers are quite aware of the disadvantages and dangers of a system that makes them so often dependent on their neighbours across the border. They have done their best, and are

still doing their best to counteract the evil. Cable rates have been reduced, and new combinations of newspapers have been proposed. But much remains to be done before the people of the Dominion can command a full and impartial service of British news independently of newspaper agencies in the United States. I am not going to suggest any means by which this may be accomplished. That is a matter for Canadian newspaper proprietors and journalists. Yet it is a matter in which we in this country can greatly assist them by inducing the cable companies to lower their rates on news and to improve the facilities for its transmission.

No more important mission of empire than this could be undertaken. For if Canadian opinion is to be inspired with the true doctrine, to be based on facts and guided by complete knowledge, something must be done without delay to bring the Dominion into closer and more direct contact with events and opinion in other parts of the Empire. This is the real and the dangerous "American invasion."

There is another phase of this invasion not less insidious and dangerous. While in Canada I read in an American publication an attack on an ancient and famous British

trading institution to which Canada owes a great debt of gratitude. The article filled me with wrath because of its anti-British bias. Yet this American journal has an enormous sale in the Dominion. You find it in every town and every hamlet. Canada has its own newspapers. It has also its own weekly and monthly magazines, but these magazines have powerful competitors that cross the borders from the United States. These American magazines are unlike others of their kind. They are neither wholly frivolous nor wholly serious; they are neither pamphlets whose strongest and often only recommendation is that they have been written by some public man, nor are they wholly machine-made stories. They are an attractive and judicious mixture of the serious and the entertaining, of politics and romance, of commerce and travel, for the American magazine editor is rapidly making himself a force in political and social movements, and already claims that he exerts a wider and more lasting influence on popular opinion than the editor of the daily newspaper.

In Canada these magazines have many readers. You see them on every bookstall, in the hotels, in every club, and in the houses of the well-to-do. British magazines have not

succeeded in combining the serious with the entertaining, and for every serious British journal that you find in Canada you will find one hundred American magazines with this double attraction. The British Post Office has tried to meet this competition by reducing the postage on printed matter from Great Britain to Canada. One effect has been to restrict the demand for wholly serious American magazines, and to stimulate the importation of British magazines devoted solely to entertainment. But the American magazine which is one-quarter serious and three-quarters entertaining continues to hold the field, and to increase its influence throughout the Dominion. It has no rival, for it has great wealth and great circulation; great ability as well as unlimited resources.

It is impossible to ignore the ultimate effect of this steady and progressive infiltration of American-made British news and of American ideas and opinions into Canadian life. Canada is still far from being Americanised. Some hasty visitors, imperfectly acquainted with the United States, may be deceived by an accent or by superficial resemblances, that are the natural results of neighbourhood and a common language. But in thought and methods

Canadians differ from Americans quite as much as Americans differ from British. Whether these distinctions will withstand Americanising influences is a problem for time to solve. There is eternal political wisdom in the saying, "Let me make the people's songs, and I don't care who makes their laws." Only for "songs" you must substitute "journals." Are these influences to be American-Canadian or British-Canadian?

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